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5	NATIONAL GAMBLING IMPACT STUDY COMMISSION
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9	MEETING
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13	Friday, March 19, 1999
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16	The Commission met at the Center for Strategic and
17	International Studies, 1800 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., at
18	8:30 a.m., Kay C. James, Chairperson, presiding.
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20	PRESENT:
21	KAY C. JAMES, Chairperson
22	WILLIAM A. BIBLE, Commissioner
23	JAMES C. DOBSON, Commissioner
24	J. TERRENCE LANNI, Commissioner
25	ROBERT W. LOESCHER, Commissioner
26	LEO T. McCARTHY, Commissioner
27	PAUL H. MOORE, Commissioner
28	JOHN W. WILHELM, Commissioner

1	AGENDA ITEM	PAGE
2		
3	Presentation by Dr. Phillip Cook	3
4		
5	Presentation by:	
6	Hal Shoup	60
7	Steve Bookshester '	66
8	Question and Answer	73
9		
10	Discussion of Future Scheduling	97
11		
12	Subcommittee Reports:	
13	Regulation, Enforcement and Internet Subcommittee	113
14	Research Subcommittee	119
15	Indian Subcommittee	120

- 1 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Good morning. I'd like to call our
- 2 meeting to order.
- First on our agenda today we will be hearing from Dr.
- 4 Phillip Cook from Duke University. Drs. Cook and Clotfelter were
- 5 contracted by the Commission to study state lotteries, and
- 6 Commissioners will remember that at our meeting in Virginia
- 7 Beach, Dr. Clotfelter joined us to discuss the progress that he
- 8 and Dr. Cook had achieved to that point, and today Dr. Cook will
- 9 come to discuss the final findings of their lottery study.
- I understand among the issues you will discuss, you
- 11 will specifically discuss the role of advertising in state
- 12 lotteries.
- And, Dr. Cook, thank you so much for joining us this
- 14 morning as we eagerly anticipate your findings.
- DR. COOK: Thank you.
- I should say perhaps not quite final, but think of this
- 17 as a work in progress. But what I'm going to say today and what
- 18 you've seen in the report dated March 8th are very close to
- 19 final, and I don't think that the big picture is going to change.
- 20 Ten years ago Charles Clotfelter and I wrote a book
- 21 called Selling Hope, which was all about the state lottery
- 22 phenomenon, and it's been interesting now, a decade later, to
- 23 revisit that phenomenon and discover that, in fact, very little
- 24 has changed during that time, except that it's gotten bigger.
- 25 What I'd like to do today is to go through the report
- 26 that I did with Clotfelter and a couple of our colleagues in the
- 27 business school at Duke with, as Dean James said, emphasis on
- 28 patterns of play, on advertising, and on three alternative models
- 29 for the lotteries.

- 1 Let me start with a few warm-up facts. First of all,
- 2 in 1997, we had thirty seven state lotteries, plus the District
- 3 of Columbia. So there's 38 altogether.
- 4 They had total sales of \$36 billion, and just 55
- 5 percent of that was paid out in prizes. So that meant that over
- 6 \$15 billion was being left behind by the lottery players in the
- 7 form of net revenue to the state lottery agencies.
- 8 They used about four billion of that for operating
- 9 expenses and 11 billion was transferred to the state treasuries,
- and so that's the magnitude as of 1997.
- 11 That \$11 billion that was transferred to the state
- 12 treasuries works out to an average of two percent of general
- 13 revenues for those states, which you might find surprisingly
- 14 small given all of the hype around the lotteries, but that's the
- 15 bottom line, that it accounts for about two percent, some states
- 16 a bit more, some states a bit less.
- 17 Lottery sales doubled between 1987 and 1997. So during
- 18 that decade they just about doubled, and that was primarily due
- 19 to an increase in the number of states which had lotteries. The
- 20 per capita sales in those states did not increase that much.
- We are looking to likely further expansion. Where I
- 22 live in North Carolina, it has emerged once again as a hot topic
- 23 primarily because of the politics in South Carolina and the
- 24 belief that they're about to convert to a lottery state, and
- 25 Alabama may also go that direction and several other states. So
- 26 we haven't quite seen the end of this bandwagon.
- 27 Another possibility for growth would be greater market
- 28 penetration for a couple of the new on-line games, particularly
- 29 keno, and perhaps growth in video lotteries.

- Okay. Let me ask Doug to crank up the overhead
- 2 projector, and I'd like to now talk about patterns of play, about
- 3 who plays the lottery. Last year, as you know, and in fact, you
- 4 commissioned -- the NORC conducted a national survey of gambling
- 5 behavior. It was the first such survey that had been done since
- 6 1975, and it provides a wealth of information on gambling and on
- 7 lottery play in particular.
- 8 I've analyzed the results of that survey, working to
- 9 some extent with the scientists at NORC, and focusing on the
- 10 three predominant games, those games being the instant
- 11 scratch-off game, the numbers game, the pick three, pick four
- 12 game, or the lotto type game.
- 13 What we found, based on the NOR survey, is that in
- 14 lottery states 55 percent of adults over 18 said that they had
- 15 played in the previous year, and in non-lottery states 28 percent
- 16 had played. So actually non-lottery states have a very high
- 17 participation rate, but lottery states have a stunningly high
- 18 participation rate. This is a very popular state program, and it
- 19 remains so year in and year out.
- The market penetration involved in lottery vastly
- 21 exceeds other forms of gambling and probably rivals things like
- 22 going to the movies and some other things. So this is a very
- widespread phenomenon.
- 24 The demographic patterns on participation are not very
- 25 interesting, and I'm not even going to bother to show you any
- 26 slides on that because basically there is an extraordinary degree
- 27 of uniformity whether you look at sex, race, ethnicity, if you
- 28 look at whether people are single or married, if you look at age
- 29 categories, look at education, look at income or any of those

- 1 dimensions. For any one of those dimensions, what we've found
- 2 was that participation nationwide is about 50 percent. So, you
- 3 know, men and women are both about 50 percent of men are playing,
- 4 50 percent of women are playing, give or take a few percentage
- 5 points.
- If you look at the education spectrum, there's some
- 7 drop-off at the high end, but not much. Income is about 50
- 8 percent right across the income spectrum and so forth.
- 9 So that these traditional socioeconomic and demographic
- 10 factors are not really distinguishing lottery players from
- 11 non-players. This is an activity that has broad popularity and
- 12 very broad participation pretty much across the spectrum.
- Maybe the only exception of all of those categories is
- 14 the elderly, people 65 and over who do have a lower participation
- 15 rate than others.
- 16 That kind of uniformity though in participation belies
- 17 the enormous variation in the amount people play, and that's
- 18 where the action is, and that's where it becomes worthwhile to
- 19 start showing some overheads. So let's turn to it.
- 20 Doug, let's go back to this one, which you've already
- 21 seen, but let me explain what's going on with this chart because
- 22 it's the same with the others.
- 23 What you see in the top bar is the per capita play for
- 24 all adult males in the U.S., and what that says is that they play
- on the average of \$204 per year.
- The next bar, the shaded bar, shows the half of adult
- 27 males who actually played at least once in the preceding year
- 28 averaged \$368. Okay. So the dark bars show average played by

- 1 players. The unshaded bars show average play for all adults in
- 2 that category.
- And what you see here is that even though, again, men
- 4 and women are about equally likely to play, men play more when
- 5 they do play, and that increases per capita sales and sales by
- 6 players as is shown there.
- 7 Okay. The next is by age, and there we see that
- 8 there's a steady increase in per capita play as age increases up
- 9 through 64, and the highest bracket, it falls back a bit, but not
- 10 much, and so, again, looking at the unshaded bars to get the per
- 11 capita picture, that's what you see here.
- 12 As I mentioned, those 65 and older are less likely to
- 13 play. If they do play though, they play more, and that's what
- 14 we're seeing in the bottom part of that.
- Okay. The next is race and ethnicity, which we've
- 16 divided into the first two groups, are non-Hispanics, whites and
- 17 blacks, and of course there's a huge difference, as you can see,
- in terms of average play for whites and blacks; that blacks' per
- 19 capita play is over four times as large as white. Hispanic per
- 20 capita play is a bit higher than whites, but not a great deal.
- Okay. Now, turn to education. This is a pattern that
- 22 has shown up in every lottery study I've looked at, including the
- 23 ones that I've done, and that is that average play is inversely
- 24 related to education. Those with the least education play the
- 25 most, and you can see that the per capita play is \$334 for people
- 26 who have not completed high school, dropping steadily down to
- 27 college grads, who played just \$86 per capita, and the average
- 28 play by those who do play drops also in a similar fashion. So
- 29 that's what we're looking at there.

- And then finally, this is the pattern by income.
- 2 Again, looking at the unshaded bars, what you see is that up to
- 3 \$50,000 or so, there's not a whole lot of variation, some
- 4 drop-off in the middle income brackets there, and then in the
- 5 highest income brackets, further drop-off as you can see. So the
- 6 highest play that we're seeing is by those who have the lowest
- 7 income, those under \$25,000 a year, and then some drop-off after
- 8 that.
- 9 It's also interesting to recognize that, of course, the
- 10 income measure that we're using is a household income measure,
- 11 and the amount played here is by the individual, and so what
- would be more reasonable to compare the total played by members
- of the household with household income.
- 14 That's actually a simple conversion. All that's
- 15 required is to multiply all of those numbers by two, and when you
- 16 do that, you get some sense about what household play is, and
- 17 what it comes down to is that for households that are earning
- under \$10,000, the average per household play is about \$580, and
- 19 then it drops off there.
- 20 So that gives you a better sense of the burden, the
- 21 possible burden, that this phenomenon has on households by
- 22 recognizing that the average household has two adults in it, and
- 23 that's true pretty much across the income spectrum, with some
- 24 small variation.
- Okay. So that's it for the demographic patterns.
- I want to talk about another kind of variation, which
- 27 is simply the individual variation in play regardless of
- 28 demographic category or socioeconomic category. For lotteries,
- 29 as for most everything else, there is tremendous variation among

- 1 individuals and how much they participate, and that variation is
- 2 of great importance to the economics in state lotteries.
- 3 Those of you who have studied marketing probably know
- 4 the law of the heavy half or the 20-80 rule, which is to say that
- 5 for most products 20 percent of the people who buy that product
- 6 account for 80 percent of the sales. Sure enough, for lotteries
- 7 it turns out 20 percent of the people who play the lottery
- 8 account for 81 percent of total sales of the lottery.
- 9 The top five percent of lottery players account for
- 10 half of the sales, and that's the group that is playing \$3,500 or
- 11 more per year. Okay?
- So when you're thinking about lotteries, you can say
- median playing for people who play is just \$74 per year. It's a
- 14 very light involvement, and your casual impression of lottery
- 15 players is probably based on people that you know, and if they're
- 16 at all typical, they play occasionally, but it doesn't add up to
- 17 much over the course of the year, and no one would be concerned
- 18 about it.
- 19 But those people, these typical players, are of very
- 20 small importance to the economics of state lotteries. The people
- 21 who are important are those who are playing heavily because they
- 22 account for so much of the sales. It's the people that are
- 23 playing \$3,500 a year or more that, as I said, account for half,
- 24 and without them, the lottery business would be far less
- 25 profitable than it is.
- 26 We did a calculation just to illustrate that, which was
- 27 to say let's assume that everybody was typical, that is,
- 28 everybody played the same amount as the median player, \$74 a
- 29 year. What would total sales be in that case?

- And the answer is it would drop all the way down to
- 2 about 7.4 billion from 36 billion. So the casual impressions in
- 3 this area are vastly misleading. The sense that everybody plays,
- 4 it's a broad based participation is absolutely true, but the
- 5 people who are important in terms of revenues are this very
- 6 small, relatively small group who are very heavily involved with
- 7 the lottery, playing \$3,500 a year or more.
- 8 Okay. So that's a quick Cook's tour, so to speak, of
- 9 the lottery participation and involvement. I'd like to turn now
- 10 to discussion of advertising, and that, of course, is part of
- 11 what should be a longer and larger discussion of marketing.
- 12 Whether talking about marketing or advertising, I have
- 13 no particular qualification, and so I am going to switch here
- 14 from an economist to a citizen who can talk about these ads as
- 15 well as anybody else.
- 16 Our team does have two people from the Duke business
- 17 school, the Fuqua School of Business, who are marketing experts,
- 18 marketing professors, and they are working on the mound of
- 19 material that the Commission staff was able to solicit from the
- 20 state lotteries, and so we hope that in a couple more weeks we
- 21 will have a much more systematic account of marketing plans, use
- 22 of the media, and so forth.
- 23 What I'd like to do today though is just talk about
- 24 some of the ads that I viewed that came as part of our
- 25 solicitation, part of the lottery, part of the staff solicitation
- 26 to illustrate some of the messages and tactics that are being
- 27 used in lottery advertising.
- And the play list was typed out and is distributed. So
- 29 you should have that in front of you, a single sheet of paper

- 1 called some of the messages and tactics used in lottery
- 2 advertising.
- What I propose to do is just go through quickly
- 4 videotape selections of TV spots and then also show a couple of
- 5 newspaper ads.
- As background, let me just say that the lottery places
- 7 the states in what is a new business, which is also a problematic
- 8 business, a rather strange business, that is, promoting an
- 9 activity that has no public or private virtue associated with it
- 10 whatsoever, and, in fact, of course, gambling traditionally has
- 11 been viewed as a vice rather than a virtue and continues to be
- 12 viewed in that fashion by many groups in this country and
- 13 elsewhere.
- 14 Furthermore, the lottery is a lousy bet. Its 55
- 15 percent payout rate is lousy by the standards of casinos or
- 16 betting on parimutuel races or anything.
- So the question is: well, how do you go about selling
- 18 this product to the public? And what kinds of messages have the
- 19 state governments through their lottery agencies seen fit to use
- 20 in promoting it?
- 21 And so let me talk about providing a little bit of
- 22 commentary, although, as I say, this is commentary that any one
- 23 of you is probably better qualified to provide than I could, and
- 24 then I will go on to the next topic.
- 25 The first message that is used and shows up in about a
- 26 quarter of the marketing plans is simply a kind of a feel good
- 27 message about the lottery itself and the good thing that it's
- 28 doing for the state. So let's start with an example from Oregon
- 29 where they are telling us the lottery dollars help provide

- 1 education and job training, that is, that the lottery is helping
- 2 the group that actually is playing most heavily in the lottery is
- 3 one way of seeing it.
- 4 (Whereupon, a video was shown.)
- DR. COOK: Okay. Thanks, Doug.
- 6 So that is one campaign that shows up in a number of
- 7 states from time to time. The general politicking about the
- 8 lottery is what it amounts to, and also perhaps to make people
- 9 who participated in it feel good about their buying tickets as
- 10 being a sort of philanthropic activity.
- 11 A second message that shows up frequently is just the
- 12 money. It's a focus on the money. Of course, that's what this
- 13 is all about, and we can show a couple of overheads in that
- 14 respect from newspaper ads that make the case very clearly.
- 15 Start with the Colorado lotto jackpot, for example. It
- 16 gives you the idea about what this is about. All right. So \$10
- 17 million, and then the other one is the Arizona Power Ball
- 18 jackpot. Again, very simple, straightforward message. In this
- 19 case it's a lie because if you won this, you would not be able to
- 20 make a deposit of \$175 million because it would be annuitized
- 21 over 20 years. So but in any case, a clear, blunt message. Big
- 22 numbers out there.
- Of course, this easily then brings in the question
- 24 about fantasy and helping potential players think about what it
- 25 would mean for them to have that big number in their checking
- 26 account, and so we can turn to Colorado, for example, which ran a
- 27 whole campaign around ten second segments. We have the Porche,
- 28 the golf clubs, the jet plane, where the tag line is another
- 29 reason to play lotto, and they had about eight or nine of those.

- 1 And then there's a Kentucky spot.
- 2 (Whereupon, a video was shown.)
- DR. COOK: Okay. So if you have any trouble imagining
- 4 what to do with the money, they're going to help you with this
- 5 and what life would be like, and that, again, is a common
- 6 campaign.
- 7 The lottery has a real problem though in connection
- 8 with these big jackpots, and that is in persuading people that
- 9 they really have a possibility of winning, and of course, the
- 10 odds are extraordinarily long on the lotto and some of the other
- 11 bigger prizes.
- 12 And what the lotteries have done is to adopt the
- 13 science of cognitive psychology to the problem of game design and
- 14 advertising design to persuade people that it's more likely that
- 15 they're going to win than they might think.
- 16 Certainly this effort begins with game design. If you
- 17 take, for example, a standard lotto format, which is you pick six
- 18 numbers out of 49; if all six of those drawn, you win the
- 19 jackpot. Well, choosing six numbers out of 49 correctly is
- 20 equivalent to choosing a single number between one and 14
- 21 million, and so you could have the equivalent lotto game, which
- 22 is pick any number between one and 14 million, and if you choose
- 23 the right one you'll win. Absolutely equivalent mathematically,
- 24 but who would buy it, right?
- 25 So the idea of the 6-49 game is to conceal the fact
- 26 that you're playing a game where it's essentially impossible that
- 27 you will win on the basis of your one dollar bet.
- In the advertising campaigns, of course, the obvious
- 29 thing to do is to show people winning, which they do, and so

- 1 whenever there's somebody playing in an ad, it's almost always
- 2 true that they end up winning, and so that helps people then with
- 3 this illusion that it's likely that they're going to win.
- 4 But some ads are more blatant than simply showing that,
- 5 and so let's turn to the Arizona bingo spot here. This was part
- 6 of a long campaign that they have.
- 7 (Whereupon, a video was shown.)
- 8 DR. COOK: So what they do in that ad is they sort of
- 9 fill the air with smoke. They give you all of these different
- 10 ways you can win and play and do things, and then they give you
- 11 the conclusion, which is quasi logical, and that is so chances
- 12 are good that you can win \$10,000.
- Well, in fact, the chances are minuscule that you can
- 14 win \$10,000 from this game, but the idea is to misrepresent it as
- 15 much as possible.
- Let's turn to Texas, which has a more subtle approach.
- 17 (Whereupon, a video was shown.)
- DR. COOK: They had a whole campaign around that. You
- 19 didn't see in those ads any legible statement about what the
- 20 actual odds of winning would be, and that's because, well, I
- 21 guess in one of them there probably was a little spot there that
- 22 appeared for a second or two that wasn't legible. Now, this is a
- 23 copy of a copy, but it's still true that it's tiny print.
- Let's go back to that Arizona Power Ball overhead, and
- 25 just to help maybe you could push it up a little bit because the
- 26 relevant material is at the bottom, and somewhere in that tiny,
- 27 tiny print at the bottom is some statement about odds, which is
- 28 what, approximately one in 35 chance of a cash prize.

- And so at the top where you can't miss it is 175
- 2 million and then nothing about the odds of winning the 175
- 3 million, but if you get out your magnifying glass, you can find a
- 4 one in 35, but not connected with any indication of how much
- 5 money that might be, and that is the standard ploy, that if they
- 6 do show any kind of odds statement, it will be in connection with
- 7 the smallest prize or with a free ticket or something like that,
- 8 whereas when they talk about prizes themselves, they talk about
- 9 the big prizes.
- 10 More often they just don't give us any information at
- 11 all, which of course would not be allowed for private sweepstake
- 12 promotion. FTC requires, you know, Publishers Clearinghouse and
- 13 those kinds of outfits to tell us what the odds of winning are
- 14 for every type of prize.
- 15 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: That's very effective, too.
- DR. COOK: Yeah, that's really effective. That's
- 17 right.
- There are exceptions. So let's go on and look at the
- 19 Virginia. I mean it can be done right.
- 20 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: There's no pandering here at
- 21 all.
- 22 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: None at all.
- DR. COOK: So sure enough, the number is understated
- 24 nicely. No, this is some kind of a generic spot which presumably
- 25 they print this in the newspaper every day or every week, but
- 26 part of it is this very clear statement about the odds of winning
- 27 the jackpot that comes right underneath the jackpot itself.

- And so it's not that it never happens or it can't
- 2 happen, but it happens rarely that there's this kind of
- 3 information.
- 4 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: That's required under state
- 5 law?
- 6 DR. COOK: Not as far as I know. What is required in
- 7 the Virginia law is that they not use advertising that's
- 8 encouraging people to play more than they would otherwise, and so
- 9 there is a restriction built into the law and the kinds of
- 10 advertising they can use. I'm not sure whether they are required
- 11 to post these odds or not.
- Most people even when presented with information like
- one in 7.1 million don't know what to do with it or don't think
- 14 in those terms; that, in fact, what they think about is more that
- 15 if they get lucky or if they have enough insight, that they might
- 16 be able to beat the odds.
- 17 And the lottery encourages that just as gambling games
- 18 have through the centuries by giving people choices, and
- 19 typically in our experience when you have a choice, some people
- 20 are going to do better than others because they're more skilful.
- 21 All right? And so sort of in our minds choice is linked to
- 22 skill.
- Here we have a chance to choose what number we're going
- 24 to play or what combination of numbers we're going to play. It
- 25 must be true that if we did a little research or if we thought
- 26 clearly about this, that we would be able to out perform the
- 27 randomly selected number.
- 28 And to help people along those lines, you can actually
- 29 buy all kinds of aids. You can go and buy one of those grocery

- 1 store check-out line magazines, you know, that will give you all
- 2 kinds of suggestions from your horoscope and from numerology
- 3 about what numbers are likely to hit today.
- 4 More interesting in some ways is you can buy computer
- 5 programs that will keep track of all of the numbers that have hit
- 6 in your state over the last several years, and you can chart them
- 7 or do whatever you want to decide what numbers are hot and what
- 8 numbers are not, very much like the Wall Street analysts do
- 9 perhaps.
- 10 (Laughter.)
- DR. COOK: And the other possibility is that you can
- 12 watch lottery ads, which occasionally will give you some hints
- 13 about how you can exercise skill in playing the game and improve
- 14 -- implicitly how you can improve your odds.
- So let's look at Texas, which had a whole campaign
- 16 based on winners.
- 17 (Whereupon, a video was shown.)
- DR. COOK: And then Virginia has an ad with a different
- 19 sort of message, but the same idea that there may be some skill
- 20 involved in this if you're alert. So let's take a look at that.
- 21 (Whereupon, a video was shown.)
- DR. COOK: Particularly dark.
- 23 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: I think he set us up.
- DR. COOK: That's right. Here I was saying those nice
- 25 things about Virginia.
- 26 There's another sort of message that's used in this
- 27 one. We looked at survey results during the booking. In the
- 28 1980s there was one survey that asked people why they played the
- 29 lotteries, and about half the players said they played for fun,

- 1 whatever that means. The other half said they played as an
- 2 investment, and they saw it as the equivalent of perhaps playing
- 3 the stock market, and there have been ads over the years that
- 4 have encouraged that perspective on it, that is, that as you play
- 5 for the future or as you plan for the future, that you should
- 6 make the lottery part of your portfolio.
- 7 There was actually a famous ad in the 1980s about a
- 8 retired man's fishing in a lake in Connecticut, laughing because
- 9 he said, "I never planned for the future. I never saved. I
- 10 never did anything that they told me to do. What I did do was to
- 11 play the Connecticut lotto game and I won umpteen million dollars
- 12 and here I am, " and then he laughs and laughs to show that he got
- 13 one over on all of those prudent people that were encouraging
- 14 people to plan ahead and to save and be careful.
- 15 That ad, incidentally, was yanked by the Connecticut
- 16 legislature at the time, but it still shows up from time to time.
- 17 In a fairly mild form we can see it in Kansas here, the idea that
- 18 the lottery is the way to get ahead in life.
- 19 (Whereupon, a video was shown.)
- DR. COOK: I might also grumble that he looks about 15
- 21 years old in that beginning picture.
- The marketers, of course, see their problem as being
- 23 twofold. One is to convert people who are not lottery players
- 24 into lottery players, and the second thing is to take people who
- 25 are lottery players and get them to play more often and to spend
- 26 more money.
- So one frequent campaign that you see across the board
- 28 is an effort to encourage people to play more often, not to miss
- 29 a day in their game. So just as a quick example, we have

- 1 Louisiana with a campaign that -- go ahead -- a campaign that had
- 2 every day of the week.
- 3 (Whereupon, a video was shown.)
- DR. COOK: Okay. So that's some of the messages I
- 5 thought were worth relaying to you. There is one other that is
- 6 showing up occasionally, and I know that part of your charge is
- 7 to worry about problem gambling or pathological gambling, and
- 8 some states are now also bringing in spots on that.
- 9 The Oregon one is interesting because of where the
- 10 implicit blame is going for the problem as you'll see.
- (Whereupon, a video was shown.)
- DR. COOK: So that is sponsored by the Oregon lottery,
- 13 but it's all about casinos.
- 14 (Laughter.)
- DR. COOK: And, in fact, again, in the 1980s when we
- 16 looked at this, we found that for the New Jersey hot line about
- 17 20 percent of the people who called said that, in fact, it was
- 18 the lottery that was their predominant problem. That's the game
- 19 that they were playing, which is not surprising once you see this
- 20 top five percent that are spending \$3,500 or more a year,
- including those making under 10,000 on their own.
- Okay. So that's a presentation on advertising, and I
- 23 would like to spend a few minutes talking about alternative
- 24 visions for a state lottery. Obviously we're in the lottery
- 25 business for the foreseeable future. Only in North Carolina and
- 26 a handful of other states are we still talking about whether we
- 27 should have a lottery or not. No state since 1964 that has
- 28 adopted lottery has changed their mind about it or is likely to
- 29 change their mind about it.

- And so the question is: well, given that lotteries are
- 2 here to stay, then is there only one way to run one of these
- 3 lotteries or could we think about some alternatives?
- 4 Most of the lotteries in this country, maybe all of the
- 5 state lotteries fit under the category that we call the revenue
- 6 lottery where the mission either explicit or implicit is to make
- 7 as much money as possible for the state treasury. In some cases
- 8 the authorizing legislation charges them with that objective.
- 9 Very often lottery directors will say that that's what
- 10 they're trying to do, that they pride themselves on being
- 11 businesslike and on maximizing profit for the state. They
- 12 struggle to be allowed to act like a business rather than a state
- 13 agency as much as possible, and they have gotten a great deal of
- 14 freedom in that respect.
- 15 The features of the revenue lottery are that there is a
- 16 low payout rate or a high implicit tax, and the other thing is
- 17 that there's heavy promotion, as we have seen here, and other
- 18 kinds of marketing. So a very systematic approach to product
- 19 design, to advertising, to outlets, and all the rest of it.
- The second possibility for a lottery is what we
- 21 describe as the assumptuary lottery, and the mission of
- 22 assumptuary lottery if we were to invent one would be to satisfy
- 23 what the British call unstimulated demand. This, in fact, was
- 24 the guiding term in terms of British gambling policy for many
- 25 years, and so the idea was, sure, you have casinos and other
- 26 kinds of games in Britain, but they're supposed to be understated
- 27 in the British tradition and not to be encouraging people to
- 28 participate.

- So the assumptuary lottery would be the equivalent of
- 2 the state liquor store at least in many states, including North
- 3 Carolina, or something that we call the lottery in the plain
- 4 brown wrapper. So it's just there. Take it or leave it.
- 5 There's no particular effort here to foist it on people who
- 6 wouldn't otherwise want it.
- 7 And so among the characteristics might be no promotion,
- 8 limited product line, certainly limits on the number and kinds of
- 9 outlets, you know, crabby clerks and the whole business, much as
- 10 you might get in a state liquor store, and the tax rate
- 11 presumably would remain high in that.
- 12 And then the third vision that we had or the third
- 13 model that we had was what we call the consumer lottery, and the
- 14 consumer lottery takes a different view. It says, well, it seems
- 15 to be a notion here that the lottery is innocuous. It's fun.
- 16 It's something the public likes to play. Why don't we embrace
- 17 that view and take a new approach, which is to say that the
- 18 purpose of the lottery is not to make money for the state so much
- 19 as it is to satisfy a reasonable interest on the part of the
- 20 public in gambling in this fashion, and the state is providing a
- 21 service to the public just like it does with its community
- 22 college service system or its state parks. It should provide
- 23 that service to the public. If the public wants to gamble, give
- 24 them a chance to gamble, and make it as attractive as possible.
- So the object then is to serve the public rather than
- 26 to exploit the public in the consumer lottery with no guilt about
- 27 what you're doing, and in that case presumably you would knock
- 28 down this very high tax rate, which is to say increase the payout
- 29 rate, maybe limited advertising. That's debatable. Certainly

- 1 allow new products to creep in as attractive products are
- 2 invented. Provide convenient outlets and all the rest of it.
- 3 So that would be quite different. This kind of
- 4 customer service vision of a lottery would be yet another view of
- 5 things.
- But as I say, what we actually have in this country is
- 7 one after another revenue lottery where whatever is said at the
- 8 time of adoption, why people vote for these lotteries at the time
- 9 of a referendum, in fact the way that they're run, is to get as
- 10 much money as possible for state programs.
- The only exception to that is that there have been
- 12 states that have adopted some of the views of assumptuary
- 13 lottery. That is, for example, in Virginia and Wisconsin and a
- 14 couple of others, there has been restrictions on advertising, and
- 15 there has been some discussion and in some cases political
- 16 opposition to introducing, say, keno or to introducing video
- 17 lottery games on the grounds that that is more risky. It risks
- 18 more problem gambling than traditional forms, and so those have
- 19 been stopped politically.
- 20 So that's what we have now, is primarily the revenue
- 21 lottery with some elements of assumptuary lottery creeping in in
- 22 some places, and the consumer lottery has yet to surface.
- 23 That's my remarks, and I'll be happy to answer any
- 24 questions.
- 25 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Dr. Cook, I found not only your
- 26 work specifically for the Commission, but especially this
- 27 report, extremely helpful, and I appreciate that.
- 28 And I should say by way of preface that personally I'm
- 29 not a lottery fan. On the other hand, it seems to me that if

- 1 we're going to make recommendations about the lottery, which
- 2 we're charged to do, that we ought to make sure that the
- 3 recommendations that we make have a sound foundation.
- I appreciated your pointing out to us that at one point
- 5 in your presentation you were switching from your professional
- 6 expertise to your expertise as a citizen. I think both kinds of
- 7 expertise are perfectly valid.
- 8 This first observation is not really addressed to you,
- 9 in particular, because it's fairly common. You made reference to
- 10 gambling as a vice, and you said there are a lot of groups --
- 11 that was the term you used -- in society that support view of
- 12 gambling. Obviously, you're right. There are a lot of groups
- 13 that say that.
- One of our colleagues on the Commission recently
- 15 circulated a piece of paper that said that it was very important
- 16 that we define gambling as a vice. There wasn't any particular
- 17 foundation for that, but of course, it was his opinion, and it's
- 18 a perfectly valid personal opinion.
- But as I read polls on this subject, I don't believe
- 20 the American people as a whole look upon gambling as a vice
- 21 except in those cases where people engage in excessive gambling
- 22 and have a negative impact.
- So I think that to the extent the Commission is going
- 24 to try to have a solid foundation for what it does, that we've
- 25 got to be careful of sort of personal opinions like that and not
- 26 get them confused with something that has a foundation of some
- 27 kind either in public opinion or in science.
- 28 And flowing from that, you made the observation that
- 29 lotteries are a lousy bet. That was your phrase, and I

- 1 understand that. I don't personally play the lottery, and as I
- 2 said, I'm not fan or supporter of the lottery, but I would like
- 3 to know what your response is to the finding in the NORC poll,
- 4 and you made reference to it in your paper, that actually people
- 5 think the odds are worse than they really are.
- I was, frankly, startled by that, but the more I think
- 7 about it, the more it makes sense because I have always believed
- 8 just as a personal opinion -- I don't have science for this
- 9 either -- that the American people as a whole are not stupid, and
- 10 if that poll is right, people don't really need to be told how
- 11 bad the odds are because actually they think the odds are a lot
- 12 worse, and yet they participate anyway.
- What do you make of that?
- DR. COOK: Okay. So two questions, one about what's
- 15 the actual or scientific grounds for labeling gambling a vice. I
- 16 mean, I think that's a matter of history and simply observation.
- 17 You know, if you look back, many of the classic texts -- we
- 18 included Chaucer, for example, The Canterbury Tales talking about
- 19 it's a waste of time and money and certainly labeled as a vice.
- 20 More recently we have the vice squads of our big cities
- 21 being concerned with eliminating the numbers games on the
- 22 streets, and so that I think that, you know, of course it has
- 23 been viewed as a vice. The fact that a majority currently is
- 24 comfortable with the lottery is neither here nor there. I'm not
- 25 saying anything about the majority, but merely about a
- 26 traditional view that continues to be fervently held by a group
- 27 of people, albeit a minority, just as a minority fervently
- 28 opposes abortion and a number of other things.

I don't think you can settle this issue on the basis of public opinion polls. Let me just say for myself I'm not particularly concerned about it, and I play the lottery from time

4 to time. I don't see it as an issue, but where I get

5 uncomfortable is when the state crosses the line to active

6 promotion of this activity.

7 And just as I would be uncomfortable with them actively encouraging people to drink alcohol, and I think that it's the 8 same basic situation, the same basic set-up. Most of the public drinks alcohol. The majority does. The percentages are quite 10 similar to the percentages that play the lottery, and folks are 11 12 fairly comfortable with moderate drinking, but I think they would be uncomfortable with a state agency, the ABC or whatever it is, 13 getting into the business of active promotion, saying, you know, 14 you really should convert from being a weekend drinker to an 15 everyday drinker or that you really should try to branch out in 16 the kind of drinking you're doing so that instead of just 17 drinking beer, why don't you also drink whiskey with that beer, 18 and so on. 19

It's the difference between the public agency which
carries the notion of the public interest behind it, a
presumption of a group that is supposed to be supporting the
public interest, and taken seriously in a way that Madison Avenue
ordinarily is not taken seriously. That is the distinction here
and the distinction that I care about.

I would feel quite differently if it were Proctor & Gamble's lottery that we were talking about and their promotion than I do if it's a state agency that's providing these messages about, you know, incorporate the lottery into your financial

- 1 planning for the future and don't believe that you can win. Of
- 2 course, it's likely that you can win a big prize if you just
- 3 trust your luck or if you just use the right system.
- 4 All of that kind of misrepresentation and lies that
- 5 we're used to when it comes to ordinary commercial gambling has a
- 6 different spin when what we're talking about is a state agency.
- 7 The same state government that brings us public education is
- 8 bringing us quite a perverse set of messages from this other
- 9 lottery agency.
- 10 And if you were to say would your Department of
- 11 Education accept the curriculum that is incorporated in the ads
- 12 that we've been seeing as the messages they wanted to deliver to
- 13 the third graders or their eighth graders, I think the answer
- 14 would be of course not, of course not.
- 15 So that's the kind of distinction that I think is
- 16 important here. I want a lottery that your Department of
- 17 Education would adopt in the schools in terms of the basic
- 18 messages that are being used to promote it. I don't want this
- 19 kind of internal inconsistency.
- 20 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Speaking personally, I agree
- 21 with your basic point here. I'm intrigued by the assumptuary
- 22 lottery, as you put it, and I appreciate the fact that you tried
- 23 to put forward some alternatives for us to think about.
- I'm intrigued, and I don't mean this to be facetious at
- 25 all, by the state liquor store comparison. I share with the
- 26 chair that I'm from Virginia where I don't know what you all have
- 27 done lately, but we always had state liquor stores. Do we still
- 28 have state liquor stores in Virginia?
- 29 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Oh, yeah.

- 1 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: And I know -- and again, I don't
- 2 mean this to be facetious -- I know that part of the history of
- 3 state liquor stores was to try to control the distribution of
- 4 liquor, but part of it was also to protect the moonshine trade,
- 5 which was, you know, a flourishing trade in the part of Virginia
- 6 that my family comes from.
- 7 And in that regard, you touched on this in your book.
- 8 I know just anecdotally from having lived in urban northeastern
- 9 neighborhoods for many years, ethnic neighborhoods, that the
- 10 illegal but wide open daily number or policy, you know,
- 11 flourished in many of those neighborhoods. In your view, what is
- 12 the relationship, if any, between illegal number or policy play
- 13 and legal play? That is to say, has legal play diminished or not
- 14 diminished illegal play?
- And, secondly, in your view, what is the relationship,
- 16 if any, between the very high relative dollar amounts being
- 17 played by some groups, particularly poor people and African
- 18 Americans, among others, in your presentation; what is the
- 19 relationship if anything, between the history of illegal number
- 20 play in some kinds of neighborhoods and those high amounts of
- 21 play?
- DR. COOK: Well, of course, the lottery agencies simply
- 23 borrowed the street game, and so the pick three and pick four
- 24 games were modeled exactly on the games that have been played on
- 25 the streets, and it's not surprising that that is the game that
- 26 appeals disproportionately to people living in those
- 27 neighborhoods, Hispanic and African American neighborhoods that
- 28 traditionally would have had an illegal game.

- I am sad to say I don't know whether the illegal game
- 2 has survived this kind of competition from the state. We
- 3 certainly looked into that in the 1980s, and we found some
- 4 interesting stories suggesting that it was still active, and that
- 5 in some ways the state game had become helpful to the street game
- 6 because it solved a problem that the street game always had,
- 7 which is people didn't trust the process by which numbers were
- 8 chosen.
- And so the street game started using the state number
- 10 as their number, and that solved the problem. The numbers
- 11 players trusted the state more than they trusted their own
- 12 system.
- 13 (Laughter.)
- DR. COOK: And they provided better service. They
- 15 provided smaller bets. There was a variety of ways in which, you
- 16 know, they were able to compete.
- So at the time it looked like there was a continuing
- 18 niche. What we've seen since then is that the payoff for the
- 19 state lottery games has crept up from 50 percent up to 55 percent
- 20 on the average, and I think it's probably continuing to go up,
- 21 and we may see the illegal game eliminated in the same way that
- 22 moonshine was eliminated, by pricing.
- Eventually the street game won't be able to compete on
- 24 price as it has in the past, just as the moonshiners now find
- 25 themselves with a more expensive product than you can buy in the
- 26 state liquor store.
- 27 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Have we had any research from
- 28 focus groups as to the effects of these ads? And trying to
- 29 follow up on John's question, people really aren't stupid, that

- 1 indicate that they are buying this, that they don't understand
- 2 the nature of the game, the probabilities and things of that
- 3 nature? Are there focus group studies that demonstrate that?
- DR. COOK: I don't know whether there have been focus
- 5 groups, and it sounds like an interesting project that we should
- 6 consider taking on with our business school colleagues.
- 7 I think that clearly there's a big market for
- 8 misinformation about how to play the lottery.
- 9 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: And that's true of a lot of
- 10 advertising, a lot of I'm thinking political advertising and your
- 11 notion that you should post the odds. You do the same thing by
- 12 extension in the political area. You could post the
- 13 probabilities of all the promises that are going to be kept that
- 14 are made in the various political ads. I'm thinking something
- 15 like the Contract with America where they communicated they were
- 16 going to term limit themselves, which the probability that six
- 17 years later they're going to actually not run and things of that
- 18 nature. It's a fascinating concept.
- DR. COOK: But, again, just if you look at where people
- 20 get their ideas about how to win the lottery, you know, there's
- 21 lots of advisors out there that are providing them. It's not
- 22 just the commercials. It's also --
- 23 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: I assume that you advocate that
- 24 these ads should somehow be regulated or changed. Would you
- 25 advocate changing or controlling other forms of speech?
- 26 DR. COOK: Sure. I believe in regulating certain forms
- 27 of speech. I think the First Amendment, like the others, has
- 28 some limits to it, and we have to figure out where to draw the
- 29 line.

- But this is a particularly odd situation since the
- 2 First Amendment and freedom of speech was designed to protect
- 3 individuals against the government. What we're talking about
- 4 here is the government and regulating the government. It's an
- 5 entirely different situation from that standpoint.
- 6 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: But you don't have a difficulty
- 7 then with casino advertisements?
- 8 DR. COOK: No. I think casino advertisements --
- 9 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Because of the governmental
- 10 nature.
- DR. COOK: And I might or might not have problems with
- 12 casino advertisement as a father and as a citizen and all the
- 13 rest of it, but I think that it's in a different category
- 14 entirely than advertising by a government agency to encourage
- 15 people to do something that's problematic at best.
- 16 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: And if the government removed the
- 17 lotteries from being a governmental agency, in effect, set a
- 18 private corporation that would run the lottery, you would not
- 19 have -- your objections would disappear?
- DR. COOK: I would be much more comfortable with that
- 21 arrangement if it were clear that the state government auctioned
- 22 off the right to run a lottery or, in fact, opened up the market
- 23 and just let the private sector take over.
- 24 At that point there might be some regulation of the
- 25 sort the FTC currently exercises over private sweepstakes and the
- 26 rest of it, which would be more stringent than the current
- 27 regulation that we have.
- 28 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Well, the state government
- 29 doesn't have a First Amendment right to do anything, does it?

- DR. COOK: Well, that's what I was trying to say.
- 2 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Yeah.
- 3 DR. COOK: It's the reverse of the First Amendment
- 4 situation.
- 5 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: But I mean legally, as I
- 6 observed before, among my many handicaps, one of them is not
- 7 being a lawyer, but I don't believe the state government has any
- 8 First Amendment rights at all, unless I'm misunderstanding the
- 9 First Amendment.
- I had one other question. what is your view of the
- 11 likelihood of the continued expansion of electronic forms of the
- 12 lottery, like the video lottery terminals and the keno that you
- 13 see in California, for example?
- DR. COOK: I don't know. I think that's sort of
- 15 political prognostication. I think it's interesting that the
- 16 revenue imperative has fallen short in those areas. So right now
- 17 we have something like 12 states who have keno and five or six
- 18 states with video lotteries run by the state lottery agency, and
- 19 so that has not taken over in the way you might expect, given
- 20 that it seems to be quite profitable in the states that have it.
- 21 And it could be that sort of the traditional
- 22 distinction that the public makes and legislature makes between
- 23 casino type games and the traditional lottery type games is some
- 24 kind of bulwark against that spread for the time being.
- 25 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: If you look at the lotteries as a
- 26 regressive form of taxation or voluntary form of taxation, would
- 27 it be more or less regressive than, say, sales tax on food, sales
- 28 tax on medicine?

- DR. COOK: It's astonishingly regressive. The tax that
- 2 is built into the lottery is the most regressive tax that we
- 3 know.
- 4 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: So it would exceed something like
- 5 the sales tax on food, depending upon rate, of course?
- DR. COOK: Yeah, and exceeds the regressivity of the
- 7 sales tax, the excise tax on cigarettes, alcohol.
- Regressivity is defined in terms of percentage of
- 9 income that is spent on a tax. What we see here is not only does
- 10 that percentage decline as income increases, but the absolute
- 11 amount spent on the lottery declines as income increases, and
- 12 it's very hard to find another product where that's true, another
- 13 product category. This is really an unusual product in that
- 14 respect.
- 15 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Any other points of discussion?
- 16 Please.
- 17 COMMISSIONER MOORE: Who are the five percent that
- 18 spend \$3,500 or more on the lottery a year?
- 19 DR. COOK: That's a real interesting question. The
- 20 problem is that, of course, it's pushing the sample size on the
- 21 survey to give a very good answer to that. So if you talk about
- 22 five percent, you're talking about 100 and some people so that it
- 23 is going to be pretty vague.
- But the work that we've done back in the 1980s on a
- 25 similar question suggests that they show up in pretty much all of
- 26 these different categories, and so it's not an isolated
- 27 phenomenon. It's not saying this particular group is going to
- 28 have all those players. It's spread just as lottery
- 29 participation is spread, quite broadly.

- 1 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: Madame Chair, just one. I was
- 2 intrigued by your charts, you know, Table 1, growth and change in
- 3 U.S. lottery and \$34 billion in 1997, and then I looked at your
- 4 other chart, Table 2, and just from our travels across America
- 5 looking at where major casino gaming is and other types of
- 6 gaming, I found that the overlap is not really great between
- 7 where casinos are and where lotteries are.
- 8 Is there some kind of public policy or some economic
- 9 phenomenon or something that deters that?
- DR. COOK: I haven't studied that overlap. I did take
- 11 a look, again, in the previous research project about an issue
- 12 that I think is relevant, and that is the extent to which an
- 13 established commercial gambling interest might be threatened by
- 14 introduction of the lottery.
- 15 And certainly in Kentucky that was an issue with the
- 16 thoroughbred people. In Nevada, you know, presumably there may
- 17 have been some concern there.
- 18 What we found when we looked at it was that the
- 19 introduction of the lottery brings in new gamblers and new money
- 20 and does not appear to affect the amount of betting on
- 21 preexisting commercial gambling, and so that while I think that
- 22 has been relevant politically, it's probably based on somewhat
- 23 false tenets, that there is only a limited gambling budget which
- 24 is going to be divided up. It does seem like the lottery brings
- 25 in more people, different people, and new dollars all the way
- 26 around.
- 27 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: Madame Chair, just one comment.
- 28 I was struck in the hearings that we had on lotteries. I don't
- 29 know whether it was Boston or somewhere where that came up, but

- 1 public policy, it just is ironic how public policy makers think,
- 2 you know. This huge desire to get money for the state budget,
- 3 yet the amount of money that's generated that actually goes to
- 4 the state budget is nominal compared to whole state budgets of
- 5 states that partake in this business.
- And then we see a dichotomy of thinking between 37
- 7 states and their governors who are involved in administering this
- 8 business, and then we saw Attorney Generals come before us
- 9 talking against this business, and I just puzzle over how public
- 10 policy makers balance all of this.
- Do you have any insight?
- DR. COOK: Yeah, I think that there's some fascinating
- 13 politics and also maybe ethical struggles that go on in terms of
- 14 thinking about the lottery. We've seen it all in North Carolina
- over the last 15 years.
- 16 For a long time, the reason why the state did not get a
- 17 lottery was because Dan Blue, who is a very liberal African
- 18 American speaker of the house there, stopped it pretty much
- 19 single handedly.
- Then after the Republicans took over, it was a much
- 21 more conservative group of people that were running the house,
- 22 but they took it upon themselves to stop the lottery, and so this
- 23 is an area that brings together strange political bedfellows, I
- 24 think, in a lot of ways.
- 25 But what the allure is is kind of twofold, and one is,
- 26 of course, the revenue that's out there to be had, and that's all
- 27 the more keenly felt in a situation, again, like in North
- 28 Carolina where a lot of the residents are playing across the

- 1 border, and so you think that's our money that's going over
- 2 there.
- And the other is the fact that the public wants to
- 4 play, and a clear majority of the U.S. public in every state
- 5 where they've ever been polled come out in favor of having a
- 6 state lottery, and I don't think it's because they think it's a
- 7 good philanthropic activity. I think it's because they want to
- 8 have the opportunity to play conveniently themselves.
- 9 And I don't know what your theory of representative
- 10 government is, but it's a little hard to stand up to that very
- 11 consistent interest, and they're not misled. I mean, ten years
- 12 later after they've had a chance to play the lottery over a
- 13 period of time, they continue to be very supportive, very
- 14 positive about it. It's probably one of the most successful and
- 15 popular state activities that there is.
- 16 So that's some of the interesting features of this
- 17 business.
- I mean, I would add to that I don't think that the
- 19 public is demanding that they get the hard sell with the lottery.
- 20 I don't think there's any particular interest in that, but they
- 21 do want the opportunity to play, and that seems like it's
- 22 relevant.
- 23 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: Dr. Cook, I want to express
- 24 appreciation to you for your presentation today, which I found
- 25 fascinating, and also for working with us on the Research
- 26 Committee throughout the Commission.
- 27 Would you just comment briefly on your impression at
- 28 least as to whether or not the states that promise the profits
- 29 from the revenues from the lottery will go to education and

- 1 whether or not they typically do result in more money for the
- 2 education establishment or because money is fungible, one dollar
- 3 is replaced with another?
- 4 DR. COOK: In some states earmark revenues from the
- 5 lottery so specifically, so narrowly that it would be hard to
- 6 believe that there was much fungibility. You know, Pennsylvania
- 7 long ago earmarked a lot of their lottery revenues to programs in
- 8 support of the indigent elderly, and they were programs that
- 9 didn't exist before the lottery came along.
- 10 Georgia has gotten a lot of attention for the Hope
- 11 Scholarship Program that they invented and funded around the
- 12 lottery which presumably would not be there without it.
- But I think by and large the states simply say this
- 14 revenue is going to support public education. The problem is
- 15 that there's no way to test that because that's a dribble of sand
- 16 on the sand dune, you know. I mean, it's a very small amount of
- 17 money relative to the size of the overall education budget, and
- 18 it gets lost there, and ordinarily you wouldn't be able to test
- 19 whether or not, in fact, the state five years after a lottery is
- 20 introduced is spending more on public education than it would
- 21 have if there had never been a lottery introduced. I mean you
- 22 can't do that widely by econometric methods or anything else.
- 23 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: I'm not sure if I understood
- 24 that. You do show an increase after the lottery instituted or
- 25 you don't?
- 26 DR. COOK: I said there's no way to test. I mean if
- 27 you imagine the experiment and say, okay, here we are. We've had
- 28 a lottery for ten years. It's all going to education it says
- 29 right there in the legislation, and we notice that the education

- 1 budget is \$3 billion. Now, how much would the education budget
- 2 have been if we had never introduced that lottery?
- Well, who knows?
- 4 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: We have the comparison to the
- 5 previous years.
- DR. COOK: Yeah. I mean, of course, the education
- 7 budget grows one year after another. Maybe the growth rate
- 8 changes a little bit when the lottery comes in, maybe it doesn't.
- 9 Maybe it would have changed anyway. It's sort of an untestable
- 10 proposition.
- 11 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: You should be able to test though
- 12 at least at the introduction of the lottery whether there's an
- 13 effect on, say, the education budget.
- DR. COOK: Yeah.
- 15 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Did the education budget show a
- 16 one time jump?
- DR. COOK: It could show a one time jump. When we were
- doing the research on the book, we had one smoking gun. I think
- 19 it was an Iowa legislator that said the way they set the
- 20 education budget was first to check on how much revenue was going
- 21 to be received from the lottery and then reduce their target by
- 22 that amount, and so, I mean, he said it for attribution, and we
- 23 had that.
- 24 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: But if you look at the data where
- 25 lotteries are introduced and they're earmarked for, say,
- 26 education, do you see a one time effect where the education
- 27 allocation goes up?
- DR. COOK: Right. I mean, we never were able to pick
- 29 out anything that indicated that it made a difference.

- 1 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: The total expenditures increased.
- DR. COOK: Total expenditures --
- 3 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: It just becomes part of the
- 4 increase stream.
- 5 DR. COOK: Increased rate that was different than they
- 6 would have otherwise.
- 7 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: And when you say it's two percent
- 8 of total revenue, do you mean total general fund revenue?
- 9 DR. COOK: General fund revenue.
- 10 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Or government revenue?
- DR. COOK: Yeah.
- 12 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Total general fund revenue.
- DR. COOK: Right. In education it might be eight or
- 14 ten percent.
- 15 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: If a state typically will allocate
- 16 50 percent of its general fund to education. So with your
- 17 figures it would be about four percent if it's educational
- 18 enhancement.
- 19 DR. COOK: Yeah, and I'm sure it depends on the state.
- 20 We had figured that for -- we did some calculations for North
- 21 Carolina. It would be a bit more than that, but still a small
- 22 fraction of the total.
- 23 And so I think earmarking to a very large bucket has
- 24 the effect of making it -- removing accountability.
- 25 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: So the advertising, especially
- 26 when there's an effort to sell the lottery to the public in a
- 27 place that doesn't have it, that indicates education is going to
- 28 benefit remarkably from the introduction of the lottery is
- 29 baloney?

- DR. COOK: Arguably, yeah. I mean, as I say, I think
- 2 that the problem is that it's very hard to hold people
- 3 accountable, to hold the legislature accountable or even to say a
- 4 few years later whether or not things have changed compared with
- 5 what they would have.
- 6 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: Well, are you saying it's baloney
- 7 or are you saying you don't know?
- 8 DR. COOK: I'm saying we can't tell, and so it's
- 9 baloney in the sense that depending on your view of what the
- 10 political process is --
- 11 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: As a campaign pitch it's
- 12 baloney.
- 13 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: If a noted sociologist can't
- 14 tell, the impact that should motivate the voter ought to be
- 15 minimal also, I would think. If you can't determine
- 16 statistically --
- DR. COOK: Right.
- 18 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: -- that there's a significant
- 19 difference, it's over sold to the public, or so it would seem to
- 20 me. Would you agree with that? I'm not trying to put words in
- 21 your mouth, but somebody is selling --
- 22 (Laughter.)
- 23 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: Somebody is selling the -- that's
- 24 unsanitary.
- 25 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Rephrase that in your own
- words.
- 27 (Laughter.)
- 28 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: With the same meaning.

- 1 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: I'm quoting you now. Would you
- 2 --
- 3 (Laughter.)
- 4 COMMISSIONER LANNI: The one thing you can, I think,
- 5 say is that if it represents two percent of the state's general
- 6 fund on the average, the state would need to fund whatever it's
- 7 funding -- that two percent to be replaced in some form by tax
- 8 increases or some other form of revenue. That's one thing it --
- 9 DR. COOK: Or reduce the budget by two percent.
- 10 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Or make it more efficient.
- 11 COMMISSIONER LANNI: That could easily be done. You're
- 12 right, Madame Chair. There's no doubt about that. I mean
- 13 realistically. I'm not a fan of lotteries personally, but it
- 14 seems to me that if it does represent two percent of the average,
- 15 the state, if it wanted to maintain the same level of funding for
- 16 various programs, would need some other source for that two
- 17 percent. That could be a personal income tax or an increase on
- 18 an existing state personal income tax as a possibility.
- 19 So the voters would have an interesting in that.
- 20 DR. COOK: Yeah, and I think that's important in the
- 21 politics of adoption, is people resist the idea of raising tax
- 22 rates if the state does not yet have a lottery because they say
- 23 why don't we just solve this problem by --
- COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Well, from a political standpoint,
- 25 it's easy money. It's an easy decision to make. It's considered
- 26 to be a voluntary tax, and there's no particular constituency to
- 27 get outraged if you create a lottery. It's just easy money.
- DR. COOK: Exactly.

- 1 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Given that, Commissioners, what's
- 2 your pleasure? I mean we're open for discussion in terms of
- 3 where we'd like to go with this.
- 4 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Just one quick comment on the
- 5 point that's been discussed for the last few minutes. The Iowa
- 6 legislator, I think, probably speaks for the large majority of
- 7 state legislators in America. Only in the first two-year cycle
- 8 do you have any chance of really measuring whether the dollars
- 9 added on by the lottery really generate a significant percentage
- 10 increase for what that state gives to usually K-12, sometimes
- 11 community colleges.
- 12 Three or four years or sessions later, it's impossible
- 13 to measure. As a matter of fact, the likelihood is that they've
- 14 forgotten all about the lottery other than they need to promote
- 15 it because there may be other general fund programs, new programs
- or expanded programs they need money for, they'll push the
- 17 lottery commission and director to try to generate more funds,
- 18 but I think you've explained it very well.
- The word "baloney" is applicable in the campaign to get
- 20 the lottery in the first place, ever suggesting to the voters
- 21 that this is really going to enhance the education budget. It
- 22 does not, and it would be very uncommon if it did throughout the
- 23 states.
- I have just one request of you, Dr. Cook. We've talked
- 25 over the phone and we've never met, and I add my thanks to what
- 26 some of my colleagues have said for your help throughout our
- 27 efforts here.
- The more we can know about that five percent that buys
- 29 51 percent, and I think that's what you were telling us; 51

- 1 percent of the dollars spent on lottery ticket purchases or
- 2 whatever the form of the game is comes from five percent of the
- 3 players. The more you can tell us about that five percent, the
- 4 more it strengthens our efforts.
- 5 We've got to also try to get at seeing how much --
- 6 that's where we find the problem, pathological gamblers, in that
- 7 five percent. What are their incomes? Anything you can do with
- 8 profile information would be much appreciated.
- 9 Thank you.
- 10 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Any other comments from
- 11 Commissioners?
- 12 Any other information that you'd like the staff to
- 13 gather so that as we begin our deliberations in terms of what we
- 14 want to say on this issue would be helpful?
- 15 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: When will we have the final
- 16 report? Was that mentioned?
- DR. COOK: We have a report that can stand as a final
- 18 report. It keeps getting better. So we'll have --
- 19 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: When will we have the best
- 20 final report?
- 21 DR. COOK: The final report point one, final report
- 22 point two. I think within -- I mean, I --
- 23 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: What's the date, John, that --
- DR. COOK: I think that's what's going to determine
- 25 this, what the staff tells me is the last time they can use it,
- 26 especially on the marketing stuff.
- 27 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: Madame Chairman, I don't know
- 28 where, again, our deliberations are going to occur for the bottom
- 29 line on some of the things that we're here to say. Obviously

- 1 we've got one more meeting left now, and that concerns me because
- 2 some of these things obviously are going to be worked out in a
- 3 debate or at least a discussion.
- 4 On this one I just want to go on record as one
- 5 individual, which won't surprise anybody, but I really believe
- 6 some of our strongest negative comments should be addressed to
- 7 the issue of lotteries, how they're run, how they're advertised,
- 8 and the impact on the culture.
- 9 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Jim, I'm pushing in every way I
- 10 know how to get people to talk about these issues right now, and
- 11 it's not an easy thing. So I'm happy to have you go on the
- 12 record. I'm happy to have other people state their preference,
- 13 give some direction. What other information do you need before
- 14 you want to make that because we are trying to push this process?
- 15 April 1st is when the best final --
- DR. COOK: The best final report will be available on
- 17 April 1st.
- 18 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Well, you can certainly look at
- 19 lotteries and you can tell and you can come to a lot of negative
- 20 conclusions and you can make a lot of findings of facts that are
- 21 essentially negative.
- 22 That having been said, then the question becomes:
- 23 what do you do?
- 24 These are integral to the operation of state
- 25 government to a large extent at this point.
- 26 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Bill, can you speak into the
- 27 microphone?
- 28 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: You have a number of problems
- 29 because of the way they're structured within the governmental

- 1 apparatus. They're part of the revenue stream. I think you're
- 2 going to go into a debate now in Virginia; at least you were the
- 3 last time we were out there, as to the allocation of the monies
- 4 from the lottery and whether or not it should get back, I guess,
- 5 to the educational component.
- I followed part of that debate in Virginia and whether
- 7 it's going to reduce services or cause an increase in taxes in
- 8 other areas. From a recommendational standpoint, I suppose you
- 9 have the advertising practices, perhaps subject them -- try to
- 10 subject them -- I don't know what the legal basis of doing it
- 11 would be -- to the same sort of controls as if it were a
- 12 commercial enterprise.
- 13 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Any reaction to Bill's comments?
- 14 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: We had quite a bit of testimony up
- 15 in Boston that they're exempted from a number of the federal
- 16 practices.
- 17 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: In reacting to what Bill's
- 18 saying, I think there are two audiences here. One are the 13
- 19 states that don't have lotteries, and I think we should give
- 20 them, you know, whatever the consensus is of the strongest,
- 21 clearest message possible.
- 22 And the second message is I certainly agree that
- 23 lotteries are deeply -- first of all, I think if you have to have
- 24 lotteries, some states conduct themselves differently than other
- 25 states, and I think some differentiation ought to be recognized.
- 26 And while I know you might be loath to rank the candor
- 27 of the advertising, I think some effort needs to be made not to
- 28 throw everybody into the same bag here. I'm not knowledgeable
- 29 enough yet to see all of, you know, the distinctions. Some stuff

- 1 is pretty offensive. Other stuff is probably pretty neutral and
- 2 not bad once you've got the lottery in place.
- 3 But I think the second audience are all of the 37
- 4 states that do have lotteries, and we're just going to have to
- 5 figure out what that message is. I think Bill is right. It's
- 6 there. Nothing we say is going to get them to repeal the
- 7 lottery, if indeed that's even what we wanted to suggest, but
- 8 perhaps what we do offer if it's clear enough and strong enough
- 9 will cause some to act with some restraint in advertising and in
- 10 other areas.
- 11 So I think the clarity of the message is pretty
- 12 essential and could be fruitful.
- 13 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: And probably along that line what
- 14 we could do is describe best practices in the lottery area.
- 15 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Best practices in the area of
- 16 advertising?
- 17 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Oh, no, in --
- 18 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Best practices in the area of?
- 19 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Total area of lotteries.
- 20 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: And the worst.
- 21 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Well, I'm thinking of
- 22 recommendations. We don't want to recommend -- I mean not doing
- 23 the worst.
- 24 COMMISSIONER LANNI: I think you're saying the same
- 25 thing. Recommending a level of practice that would be a minimum
- 26 for an individual state.
- I would add I agree with Jim and Bill's comments. I
- 28 would also add what I mentioned yesterday, is I think that the
- 29 lotteries in each state should be encouraged by this Commission,

- 1 my opinion at least, which as I always say I do respect, that
- 2 there should be some form of commitment of dollars from the
- 3 states towards pathological and problem gambling and how that is
- 4 dealt with. I think that should run through all forms of
- 5 legalized gaming or gambling in the United States.
- 6 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Or knowing the way the lotteries
- 7 work, what would happen is somebody would decide, well, we want
- 8 two percent. So they're going to put an extra two percent as
- 9 income receipts from the lottery, and they'll go out there and
- 10 market it more aggressively.
- 11 COMMISSIONER LANNI: Well, in addition, obviously the
- 12 marketing aspect, as long as we have some proposed limitations on
- 13 methodology, the practice of marketing, I think that would --
- 14 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Well, no, I philosophically agree
- 15 with you. But you're talking about across the board, and I think
- 16 across the board is appropriate in all forms of legalized
- 17 gambling.
- 18 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: And I think we've heard that in our
- 19 discussion yesterday. So we were talking about best practices in
- 20 terms of everything, in terms of advertising, but I also think in
- 21 terms of how the dollars are committed. Perhaps we should
- 22 highlight the fact that in Georgia they started the Hope
- 23 Scholarships. They separated out those funds so that you could,
- 24 in fact, see where the money was going, and suggest to other
- 25 states that they may want to do something like that.
- 26 COMMISSIONER MOORE: It worries me that, whether it
- 27 might be federal or state, are contributing to the growth of
- 28 gaming. Now, whether that's good or bad, I'm not here to judge
- 29 that. The lottery will continue to grow, I'm sure, and this ad

- 1 that you showed with this kid jumping around and was so glad that
- 2 his mother got this higher education and attributed it to the
- 3 lottery, that to me is just unbelievable that a state government
- 4 would produce a lottery or any other gaming or most any other
- 5 advertisement that so-called vice, if you want to call it that --
- 6 I don't have a strong opinion about that word -- but we need -- I
- 7 think we need to have a recommendation to the states also. I'd
- 8 like to say that they look at this.
- I mean, there are some moral issues still out there in
- 10 this country.
- 11 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Not anymore.
- 12 COMMISSIONER MOORE: Well, there are a few, and this
- 13 needs to be addressed, and I believe that this Commission would
- 14 be the one that should address it.
- 15 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Any opposing view on the Commission
- 16 to saying something along those lines?
- 17 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: I don't -- I certainly don't
- 18 have an opposing view, but I do have a concern related to
- 19 something Bill said a while ago. It had to do with the notion
- 20 that a state might try to pretend that it lacks responsibilities
- 21 here by chartering or retaining a private corporation for the
- 22 purpose of pretending that it isn't the state. It seems to me
- 23 that would be fairly much of a sham.
- I think this issue to some degree represents the
- 25 perpetual truth of the law to run into any consequences because
- 26 the observation has been made by Dr. Cook and others that these
- 27 things are run like a private business would run a lottery, and
- 28 you know, we're always telling governments they ought to run like
- 29 a business.

- I realize that's not what people really intend when
- 2 they say that, but I hope that we don't set up a situation in
- 3 which states, in order to evade the thrust of what we're
- 4 suggesting here, merely off- load it to some private company and
- 5 wash their hands of it.
- 6 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Yes.
- 7 MR. WARE: My name is Weston Ware, and I work on the
- 8 lottery or against the lottery in Texas, and I'd like to say that
- 9 what you're really dealing with is lottery companies.
- 10 When the lottery pressure began to build in Texas, it
- was not the pressure of public support for a lottery. It was 40
- 12 to 50 lobbyists being hired by out-of-state companies coming into
- 13 Texas to operate a lottery.
- So what you're really dealing with is not what states
- 15 are doing, but what business is doing, and the states are buying
- 16 into it.
- 17 And I would urge you to look carefully. If you
- 18 remember, the funding of the lottery in California in '84 or '82,
- 19 whenever it was, GTEC (phonetic) went in and spent several
- 20 million dollars to make that referendum happen, and that's been
- 21 the case in many of the states where lotteries have come.
- 22 And I would just urge you as a Commission to look at
- 23 the companies that are really the ones that are making these
- 24 videos that you've seen today.
- 25 Thank you.
- 26 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Just for the record, I want to make
- 27 sure that Commissioners are aware of the fact that we did invite
- 28 GTEC to come and present and to offer their opinions and allow

- 1 themselves to be questioned by this Commission, and they did
- 2 decline.
- 3 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: Madame Chair, I'd like to just
- 4 say a few words about this since you're trying to get some input
- 5 for the report.
- 6 You know, I keep thinking about it every since Boston,
- 7 about this business, you know, and the statistics are very
- 8 graphic, and I appreciate your presentation that, you know, this
- 9 impacts the low income people, the less educated people. It
- 10 starts right at the family level, you know, with both the mothers
- 11 and fathers playing this game.
- 12 You know, the business of, you know, what's the role of
- 13 the state. You know, the state is not only in this instance a
- 14 regulator; it's an operator, and I just struggle with that idea,
- 15 you know, that the government advocates and supports and advances
- 16 this whole business of lotteries.
- 17 You know, we were able in the last several years to get
- 18 the Congress and the states and everybody to work together to
- 19 help people get jobs, and my friend, John, wouldn't say the word
- 20 "jobs" because he's trying to hold out, but I'll say it for him.
- 21 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Go ahead, John. Get it in before
- 22 lunch.
- 23 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: Jobs. There's not a lot of
- 24 jobs in this business. It doesn't create a lot of enterprise in
- 25 jobs, but the business of welfare to work, we have worked real
- 26 hard in America to get people off unemployment, and this attacks
- 27 the very place or the very group of people that we're trying to
- 28 help, you know, economically to raise their income, to get better
- 29 educated, to get the work ethic, and then you see the statistic

- 1 of how much money comes out of that low income family going to
- 2 this lottery thing.
- 3 So I just struggle with that business. The other thing
- 4 I struggle with, and 37 states do this kind of thing, so we're
- 5 not going to change it overnight, but the business of offsets.
- 6 You know, the public policy isn't clear uniformly across America,
- 7 yet it's sanctioned in the public policy that it supports
- 8 education or it supports jobs or it supports something.
- 9 But when the policy makers get it into the general fund
- 10 of the state, then it disappears, and maybe there ought to be a
- 11 little bit of integrity here -- that's a hard word to bring up
- 12 every once in a while -- about what people's money is being spent
- 13 for, particularly when we know it's coming from the poor and the
- 14 less educated and people that are trying to get from welfare to
- 15 work.
- So, Madame Chair, these are my comments, and I'm
- 17 hopeful they will be helpful to the report writing.
- 18 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: You know, John, I've heard you say
- 19 a couple of times, and I agree, that it's troublesome that the
- 20 majority -- not the majority -- the few lottery players, the five
- 21 percent that are responsible for the 51 percent, just based on
- 22 the data, seem to be low income, disproportionately black, less
- 23 education, but we defend their right to be able to do that and
- 24 make the decision if that's how they want to spend their money.
- I have very ambivalent feelings about that. If that's
- 26 what you want to spend your dollar on and that brings you some
- 27 pleasure, I mean, I've had this argument constantly in my own
- 28 family with people who play the lottery, and I see it as a
- 29 complete waste of money, complete waste of money, but they do it,

- 1 and so I don't know quite how to handle that in the report. It's
- 2 troubling to me. It is very troubling to me.
- 3 And I think when you juxtapose that against the
- 4 advertising issue, it becomes even more troubling, and so I don't
- 5 want to presume that poor people or black people or uneducated
- 6 people can't make their own decisions about how to spend their
- 7 money, but, boy, there's a troubling component there that I'm
- 8 struggling with.
- 9 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: Kay, for me the answer to that
- 10 dilemma is that I'm not in favor of outlawing or suggesting that
- 11 states make lotteries illegal. That would be doing what you're
- 12 suggesting, but we as a Commission do have an obligation, I would
- 13 think, to make a statement about it to the public, about the
- 14 regressive nature of this and the way it exploits the poor and
- 15 the way it prays on desperation and hopelessness.
- 16 That's not taking away the choice of the people to
- 17 spend their money that way, but we at least have a responsibility
- 18 to make a statement about it.
- 19 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Yeah, I think Jim's right. I
- 20 share, Kay, your dilemma about the issue that you raised. I
- 21 mean, I may be remembering the number wrong, Dr. Cook, but I
- 22 think that the annual expenditure for African American players
- 23 was \$986 or something like that. Well, that's basically two
- 24 bucks a week -- I'm sorry -- how much is that? Twenty bucks a
- 25 week, 20 bucks a week. Well, you know, people that smoke two
- 26 packs a day spend that much money.
- 27 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: That's the mean though.
- 28 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: To me though --
- 29 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: Half are going to be above that.

- 1 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Well, I understand. to me, like
- 2 Kay said, I think that's loony just as a person, but on the other
- 3 hand, you know, people do have a right to do this, and it may not
- 4 seem loony if you don't see other options, you know, that are
- 5 available to you.
- 6 Also, in much the same way I'm even -- I feel a similar
- 7 kind of a dilemma in response to Bob Loescher's comments just
- 8 now. I mean my personal reaction is, yeah, governments should
- 9 not be at least aggressively advertising this stuff. That makes
- 10 sense to me.
- On the other hand, if we're going to say that to a
- 12 state government, does it follow from that that we have to say
- 13 that to tribal governments? I mean, at least tribal casinos --
- 14 and I appreciate Bob getting to this first. I was trying to not
- 15 be first today -- but at least tribal casinos offer jobs. State
- 16 lotteries offer few, if any, jobs. You know, I think that's an
- 17 important distinction.
- But nevertheless, if we're going to say to state
- 19 governments, "Hey, you can't advertise this stuff," do we then
- 20 say to tribal governments, "Hey, you can't advertise this stuff"?
- As far as I know, the U.S. federal government doesn't
- 22 advertise gambling, at least to my knowledge. I think these are
- 23 all dilemmas because we do, first of all, have a free enterprise
- 24 system, and second of all, we do believe in individual freedom.
- 25 So I share your dilemmas, Kay.
- 26 Personally, I come down just for myself in the same
- 27 place you do. I think this stuff is horrible.
- 28 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Well, maybe at the least -- who's
- 29 an economist here? Who's got a calculator? Twenty dollars a

- 1 week. Could we just explain the principle of compound interest?
- 2 I mean what would happen if they saved \$20 a week over -- I mean,
- 3 could we just juxtapose that against the amount of money that's
- 4 spent on lotteries to say where you would be at the end of
- 5 ten-year period if you'd spent that money?
- 6 COMMISSIONER MOORE: What if they saved it for a year,
- 7 \$20 a week? That'd be \$1,000, and if they invested that money,
- 8 that \$1,000, right then and got eight percent a year, in eight or
- 9 nine years the seven and two rule, you'd save interest, and so
- they'd end up and they'd have \$2,000.
- 11 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: That's my smart co- worker.
- 12 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: He may be a country doctor, but
- 13 he's also a banker.
- 14 (Laughter.)
- 15 COMMISSIONER MOORE: It would skyrocket, and they
- 16 wouldn't know what to do with their money probably.
- 17 (Laughter.)
- 18 COMMISSIONER MOORE: They could go to Las Vegas.
- 19 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: I do, before she gets away from us,
- 20 want to recognize the Congresswoman from Las Vegas, Shelley
- 21 Berkeley. She just stepped out in the hall. She's just stepping
- 22 back in.
- Congressman, I want to thank you for taking time out of
- 24 your day to come by and at least observe a part of our
- 25 deliberations, and if you want to say anything to the Commission,
- 26 you're more than welcome to do that. If you just want to stand
- 27 back and watch as we talk about lotteries, that's fine, too.
- MS. BERKLEY: Well, I thank you for that opportunity.

- 1 As you know, I was raised in Las Vegas, and the issues
- 2 that you are considering are very important to me. I have a
- 3 great affinity for the industry in Las Vegas. I am a product of
- 4 it, and I admire all of the work that you're doing. I think it's
- 5 very important, and we are most anxious to see the conclusion of
- 6 your studies.
- 7 So thank you very much for all of your hard work. We
- 8 appreciate it very much.
- 9 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Thank you, and we are honored by
- 10 your presence here today.
- 11 I'm sorry. I interrupted someone down at this end of
- 12 the table. I'm not sure who was speaking. No?
- 13 Terry.
- 14 COMMISSIONER LANNI: Again, on the social side of the
- 15 life, I think making recommendations possibly to have states
- 16 consider the aspect that a very small percentage of people at the
- 17 lower level of the income bracket are participating in these
- 18 games is something that we should do. I don't think we should
- 19 overly direct them. I'm a great believer in individual state's
- 20 rights and individual's rights, and as long as it's legal and
- 21 people are doing it, it may still be foolish, but it is legal.
- I would think that we should have some form of
- 23 recommendation though that the states take unto themselves to
- 24 study the aspects of that, how much advertising affects it
- 25 because we are going to apparently -- there seems to be a
- 26 consensus that we make a recommendation about some guidelines for
- 27 advertising.
- 28 But something else the gentleman from Texas raised,
- 29 because we really didn't get too much into the area of

- 1 regulation, because when you have a government operating a
- 2 business and they're regulating themselves, that does afford some
- 3 potential problems.
- 4 I think there may well be a positive point of making a
- 5 recommendation at the very least that there be some form of
- 6 licensing of entities and background checks of these entities
- 7 that are conducting and operating this form of gaming, if you
- 8 will, in the individual states, and I don't know to what degree
- 9 that does exist or if it exists at all in any of the 37 states or
- 10 the District of Columbia, but I think there should be a form of
- 11 some agency within a state, and that would be my recommendation
- 12 that the Commission consider, is making a recommendation to the
- 13 several states that are involved in this that they will find a
- 14 way to have some agency within that state to do background checks
- 15 and, in effect, license entities who are operating any form or
- 16 aspects of these particular games to be sure that they meet
- 17 probative standards, at the very least, which should take into
- 18 consideration their business practices, their practices in other
- 19 states, and get them some kind of a Good Housekeeping seal of
- 20 approval.
- 21 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Would anybody be opposed to any
- 22 such --
- 23 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: No, I wouldn't be opposed to it,
- 24 but when we collected the information on lotteries, did we
- 25 collect information on the structural operation of the lotteries?
- 26 The lottery directors, are they typically appointed by the
- 27 governor? Is there a board of directors? Is there an advisory
- 28 board? Is there some other controlling mechanism for the lottery
- 29 itself?

- DR. COOK: We have some information on that. There's a
- 2 table in the report that we sent that has some information which,
- 3 I think, says -- Table 5 that talks about where it's located in
- 4 government, whether it's an independent agency or a regular
- 5 agency and whether it's exempt from personnel rules and
- 6 procurement rules.
- 7 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: What is the common practice?
- 8 DR. COOK: The common practice is exemption. It's
- 9 partially to be exempt from procurement rules.
- 10 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Will they have a governing board,
- 11 a board of policies, things of that nature?
- DR. COOK: Let me get that. I think we can get that in
- 13 the stuff that we have.
- 14 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Because typically you look at the
- 15 lottery --
- DR. COOK: You're talking about service, civilian --
- 17 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Well, you look at a lot of
- 18 functions of government if you have a retirement system or you
- 19 have an unemployment compensation system or you have a university
- 20 system or an education system that are components of government.
- 21 They will have an independent board, an oversight board that's
- 22 involved in the day-to-day policy setting for that particular
- 23 operation, and maybe something like that would be appropriate for
- 24 lotteries to, in fact, be their board of governors in terms of
- 25 best practices.
- I mean, if you're going to describe a list of things
- 27 you may want to take a look at, that may be one of the components
- 28 that's missing. There's not an independent group that's
- 29 providing oversight on a day- to-day basis, that there's just a

- 1 typical department of state government. They're probably not
- 2 members of the cabinet. They don't participate in policy
- 3 decisions per se. It's just an operating entity and may not have
- 4 appropriate oversight.
- In some cases there may be boards that have
- 6 legislators. Legislators certainly have a wide variety of views
- 7 on lotteries. The individual -- if you attended our meeting in
- 8 Massachusetts, we had one of the representatives who serves on
- 9 one of the functional committees who reviews the lottery's
- 10 budget, who apparently can get his program through the
- 11 legislature in Massachusetts, invited us to encourage some
- 12 federal oversight, which I thought was unusual, and I asked him
- 13 to memorialize that in writing, and it never came.
- But that may be part of the problem from a structural
- 15 standpoint within the lottery system. I don't know. I don't
- 16 know what your research would show.
- DR. COOK: I think this is rare. I don't know whether
- 18 any lotteries have it, but it certainly is rare.
- 19 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: And certainly what Mr. Lanni says
- 20 is true. There's only two or three main providers, and in some
- 21 cases if they have commercial gaming activities that's brought
- 22 them under the jurisdiction of a normal commercial gaming
- 23 regulatory agency, they've been reviewed, licensed, approved, and
- 24 subject to that sort of process. In a lot of cases they have not
- 25 been, and I'm thinking of one provider in particular.
- 26 COMMISSIONER LANNI: And the board that you're
- 27 referring to, if you look at parimutuel entities in various
- 28 states, there are horse racing boards appointed by the governors
- 29 in the several states to oversee their activities. So I would

- 1 concur with the addition of having some kind of a body to oversee
- 2 that particular responsibility within the individual states,
- 3 along with the background checks and licensing not only of them
- 4 as individuals, but the people who are providing the services.
- 5 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: We asked some questions in
- 6 these areas in the questionnaire formulated by the research
- 7 subcommittee and approved it before it went out. So we'll find
- 8 some of the answers in there to some of these questions.
- 9 COMMISSIONER MOORE: I'm a little bit -- maybe Mr.
- 10 Lanni would be a good one. On this GTEC, do these companies
- 11 actually -- I was under the impression that the states ran most
- of their own lotteries, and that maybe these companies were just
- 13 trying to sell the machines. Do some of these companies come in
- 14 and actually run the lottery for the state?
- 15 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: In most cases they -- well, Terry
- 16 could answer the question, but in most cases they are going to
- 17 actually be the operator of the system per se, the computerized
- 18 system
- 19 COMMISSIONER MOORE: And take a percent.
- 20 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Well, the compensation will vary.
- 21 I believe it to be either a percent of the total handle or by
- 22 ticket sales or something like that.
- 23 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Which was why we thought it would
- 24 be good to hear from them, but they did refuse to come.
- 25 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Oh, did they? They were asked?
- 26 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: GTEC, yes, and I think maybe we
- 27 should put that request again for one of our final meetings just
- 28 to --

- 1 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Well, I think with Terry's
- 2 recommendation that it be subject to licensing from all the
- 3 various jurisdiction, they may want to appear.
- 4 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: They may be interested in having an
- 5 opinion on that.
- 6 COMMISSIONER LANNI: We have made one more enemy.
- 7 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: With that, I want to thank you, Dr.
- 8 Cook. You've given us some very helpful and thoughtful
- 9 information for us to build some recommendations around, and we
- 10 appreciate all of your hard work and look forward to your report
- 11 in April, April 1st.
- DR. COOK: Thanks for the opportunity.
- 13 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: I'm going to go ahead and take our
- 14 break now. It's 10:30. We'll get back together at 10:45.